1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

It is hardly necessary to say that the species of fish caught by the Koryak are the same as those on the American side of Bering Sea, but they differ from those of the arctic rivers west of the Stanovoi Ridge. There we find mainly the *Coregonidæ*, which ascend the rivers from the polar sea, while in the Koryak waters the *Salmonidæ* (especially of the genus *Oncorhynchus*) are of greatest importance.

INFLUENCE OF CLIMATIC CONDITIONS UPON PROGRESS. — From this brief description of the nature of the region, it may be seen to what extent its form of culture depends upon surrounding conditions. It can hardly be expected that under such a climate the manner of existence can be materially changed. In the far north, material culture depends more upon the degree of latitude than upon human efforts. Agriculture is impossible, because the earth does not thaw out to a sufficient depth; the soil is mostly marshy; and the temperature is too low for the growth of cereals.

In 1901 there were in Gishiginsk only seventy-eight days without frosts, which is not a sufficiently long period for the growth of cereals. This time is in reality still more curtailed, since the growth of cereals does not begin, or stops if already begun, till the temperature is somewhat above the freezing-point. Botanists regard the temperature above 6° C. as a necessary one for the growth of cereals.

Taking into consideration the poor quality of the grasses, and the enormous expanses covered with moss, lichen, and marshes, cattle-breeding as an industry is also impossible. As we shall see below, the efforts of the Russian Administration to develop cattle-breeding among the Russianized Maritime Koryak of Kamchatka and the Okhotsk district — that is, in the more southern parts of the territory — has met with very little success.

The fur-trade cannot be regarded as a means of improving the general welfare of the natives, since, aside from the fact that the profits derived from it remain in the hands of unscrupulous traders, the number of fur-bearing animals is rapidly decreasing, owing to their ruthless destruction.

Fishing and the hunting of sea-mammals, as indicated above, can be carried on in the summer only; so that during the long winter the Maritime population have to depend exclusively upon their summer supplies.

Reindeer-breeding, though affording a more reliable source of sustenance to the wandering Reindeer people than that offered by hunting and fishing to the Maritime people, is still in a most primitive state. The type of a Reindeer household has so far remained unchanged, contact with Russian civilization for a century and a half not having exercised any influence upon it. This primitive state of the material life of the Koryak, left almost intact by outside influence, determines the primitive state of their mental culture.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

keep up with the Yakut reindeer, and soon began to pant and fall, in spite of severe beating. We abandoned them one after another, leaving on the trail a few sledges with provisions, and finally reached the station on foot. The Chukchee reindeer were the usual little-trained draught-animals, which made from seven to ten miles a day in nomad trains, walking at an easy gait the entire distance.

COMPARATIVE REMARKS. — In conclusion I wish to sum up the chief peculiarities of the three types of use of the reindeer.

The domestication of the reindeer of the Koryak-Chukchee is very primitive. The economic conditions are still in the simple stage in which the herd serves merely to satify the wants of the family. Its principal object is to serve as a source of supply for food and clothing, the reindeer being kept mainly for slaughter. Transportation is but a secondary purpose of the reindeer.

The Tungus reindeer represent a more advanced type. Their chief use is as a means of transportation over the hunting territory, both as riding and pack animals. The household of the wealthy Tungus herd-owner approaches either the Koryak or the Yakut type, according to its location.

The Yakut reindeer are an improved Tungus race. Their principal use is commercial. They are the chief source of money earnings. The owners of one or two dozen reindeer seldom use them for their own household, but hire out themselves with their teams for the transportation of merchandise; or they rent their reindeer to Yakut contractors for a money consideration.

THE DOMESTICATION OF THE WILD REINDEER. — To what has been said on p. 471 concerning the possibility of taming wild reindeer I wish to add the following remarks.

It has been said that the Amur Tungus domesticate wild reindeer. I consider these reports, which are confirmed by my friend Mr. Sternberg in his review of Bogoras's work on the material culture of the Chukchee,[1] worthy of little credence. If the Amur Tungus could increase their herds by taming wild reindeer, they would surpass in skill the tamers of our zoölogical gardens, who succeed only to a certain degree in taming wild animals. In a personal talk with me on this subject, Dr. Sternberg told me that in the original draught of his manuscript he had written "enticing" instead of "taming," which might refer to the skill of the Tungus in enticing wild reindeer with the help of specially trained domesticated animals. This I know is done also by the Tungus of the Province of Yakutsk, and of the Gishiginsk and Okhotsk districts of the Maritime Province; but in those places it applies only to hunting wild reindeer, and not to capturing them for purposes of taming.

In the districts named, three ways of hunting wild reindeer with the

[1] American Anthropologist, N. S., Vol. VII, 1905, p. 322.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

help of domesticated animals are known. The first is by means of specially trained reindeer, called "hunting reindeer," or man·sčí'k (манышикъ, from manit' [манить], "to entice"), by the Russians, and ondada' by the Tungus. In my travels over northeastern Siberia I had occasion to meet Tungus hunters riding reindeer, who led another reindeer (ondada') by a long line. Above everything else, the ondada' is a good guide: it leads its master through woods and other impenetrable places by the surest paths; directed by its scent and hearing, it brings him to the pasture of wild reindeer. Then the hunter pays out the line, and lets the man·sčí'k go ahead, while he himself hides behind a bush or hill. The man·sčí'k begins to dig in the snow to get some lichen. When the wild reindeer, noticing the man·sčí'k, and impelled by love of gregariousness, approaches, the hunter begins gently to draw in the "enticer," until the wild reindeer, following step by step, gradually comes within easy range of the hunter. The second method is employed by the Tungus in the autumn during the rutting-season of wild reindeer. The hunter starts out on his expedition with his best two stags, the strongest in the herd. Having found the tracks of a herd of wild reindeer, the hunter lets one stag loose, after having tied a thong in several loops around its antlers. Feeling itself free, the rutting stag, taking the scent of the tracks of the wild dams, runs to overtake them. The wild stag does not allow his adversary to approach the females, but engages in single fight with him, and becomes entangled in the thong. The hunter, mounted on the other stag, finds the combatants with their antlers entangled, and slays the wild reindeer. Sometimes he succeeds also in killing a female, which, according to the hunters, watches from afar the struggles of the males, and takes flight only on the approach of man. The third method consists in enticing wild stags in the autumn by means of domesticated dams. This method is resorted to in wooded localities that are free from wolves. Having found a pasture of wild reindeer, the hunter leaves there, alone and unguarded, some dams from his herd, which are then in their rutting-period. The dams attract the wild stags. A day or two later the hunter stealthily approaches his dams, and endeavors to shoot the wild reindeer that have imprudently gone too near them. The Koryak, too, take advantage of the wild stags visiting the tame dams in their herds, and slay them, while the Chukchee consider it an ill omen if in such cases the wild stag escapes from the herd. It will thus be seen that the principle in all three methods is to kill the wild reindeer; and in the last method it is also desired to obtain a stronger and larger breed from the domesticated dams.

Mr. W. D. Nemirovich-Danchenko, in two articles on "The Mezen Tundra", and "The Country of the Lapps",[1] informs us that the Samoyed are not able to tame the wild reindeer of the Mezen Tundra, but that the Lapps

[1] Picturesque Russia (Russian), St. Petersburg 1881; Vol. I, pp. 95, 178.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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succeed easily with those of their country, by catching them with the lasso and keeping them tied up for three days before feeding them. After that treatment, he says, the reindeer are as tame as those of the domesticated herd. Presumably this report is based on a misunderstanding and refers to the first training of unbroken reindeer that are taken out of the herd.

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I discuss the possibility or impossibility of taming wild reindeer thus fully, because the answer to this question is of the utmost importance not only from the point of view of the economic interests of the reindeer-breeders, but for the history of domestic animals in general. It is true that the domesticated reindeer differs little from the wild reindeer. So far, zoölogists have found no anatomic differences which would justify us in considering the domesticated reindeer as a distinct variety. From this it may perhaps be inferred that reindeer-breeding is of comparatively recent origin; but the fact must also be taken into consideration that the reindeer-breeders know hardly anything of artificial selection, and that domestication was not accompanied by changes in the feeding of the animals. However this may be, the more pacific nature, the familiarity with man (so to speak) and the readiness to obey him, which we find even in the primitive race of the Chukchee-Koryak reindeer, do not develop at once. These qualities are gradually acquired, and are transmitted by inheritance through a whole series of generations. This applies all the more to the race of Tungus reindeer. The comparative weakness of the reindeer is an advantage to man in the taming of this animal, which could not be accomplished by superior physical strength alone. I have already cited an instance of how the draught-reindeer of a primitive Chukchee herd, when first put into harness with Yakut reindeer, might be beaten to death, but could not be made to draw the sledge as fast as the Yakut reindeer do.[1] Should a wild stag, notwithstanding its innate fear of man, join the herd, attracted by the dams, there would be danger of the herd-owner, however vigilantly he might keep watch, losing a large part of his herd, which the wild stag would probably lead away into the wilderness. The invariable custom of the Chukchee of killing the wild reindeer attracted to the herd by sexual instinct appears to me to have been called into existence in a great measure by this very apprehension, and hence this custom is invested with a religious significance. When I consider reindeer-breeding as of recent origin, I still do not mean to assign to it a beginning very near to our times. The Chukchee-Koryak cult related to the domesticated reindeer, with its numerous rites and festivals, required much time for its evolution and establishment. As it is a matter of great importance, from the point of view both of science and of domestic economy, for reindeer-breeders really to be able to increase their herds by the taming of wild reindeer, let us hope that

[1] See p. 497.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

I will remark here that seals are hauled from the shore to the village over the ground or ice by means of a thong, which is usually passed through a slit running from under the lower jaw through the mouth. I did not see among the Maritime Koryak of Penshina Bay any small sleds such as are used by the Chukchee and Eskimo for conveying home seals.[1] 492

In the Bays of the Sea of Okhotsk there are no walruses and sea-lions, nor any ribbon-seals *(Histriophoca fasciata)*. Old people in the village of Itkana told me that they knew of one case of a walrus being caught in Penshina Bay. How reliable this information is I do not know. The walrus in Bering Sea has decreased very much in numbers owing to its incessant unlawful pursuit. They are hunted by the Koryak in the same way as seals, — mainly with harpoons. In former times the Karagha estuary and the bays of Karagha Island were favorite localities for walrusing.[2] 225 [136]

Hunting of Land-Game. — The wild reindeer and the mountain-sheep or Kamchatka big-horn (*Ovis nivicola* Eschholtz) are the only wild land-animals killed by the Koryak for food. The elk and the musk-deer, which are met with on the southern coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and west of the Stanovoy Mountains, are unknown in the Koryak territory, at least nowadays. 224 136

The hunt of wild reindeer is unimportant; and there are few hunters who make a specialty of this pursuit, as is the case among the Yukaghir and Tungus. Besides, the wild reindeer in the Koryak territory are not numerous. The domestic reindeer, for which the best pastures are selected, has pushed the wild herds to the north or to the less favorable pastures of the mountain-chains. They are found in small herds only, on mountain-tops in summer, and in the tundras and river-valleys in winter. On the Palpal Ridge a wild reindeer is found which crosses the Anadyr River and lives in summer on the coast of the Arctic Ocean. Small herds of the migratory wild reindeer reach the most southerly parts of the Koryak territory. The Maritime Koryak rarely hunt the wild reindeer. It is pursued principally by the inhabitants of northern Kamchatka and of the Parapol Valley, and particularly by the Koryak on the Palpal.[3] Still the hunt is not carried on regularly. In domestic life, as well as in trade, the wild reindeer is of slight importance only. Skins of wild reindeer are not exported from Gishiga; while among the number of reindeer-skins exported from the Anadyr and the Kolyma Rivers the skins of wild reindeer occupy an important place,[4] since on these rivers many are killed during their migrations to the north and back. [439

Like the wild goat, the mountain-sheep is fond of rocky mountain-tops, where it feeds on alpine marshes. It is especially numerous in the Kam-

[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 107.

[2] In regard to the methods of hunting wild reindeer compare Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, pp. 132–136; Jochelson, Sketch of the Hunting Pursuits and Peltry Trade in the Kolyma Country (St. Petersburg, 1898), pp. 41–48.

[3] See Jochelson, Sketch of the Hunting Pursuits and Peltry Trade in the Kolyma Country, p. 38.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

224 chatka Mountains. It is hunted in the mountains of northern Kamchatka,
136 the Ma'meč Ridge, the ranges of the Alutorsk region, farther to the north, and in the mountains of the western coast of Penshina Bay and the Taigonos Peninsula. The meat and fat of the mountain-sheep are considered a very toothsome dish. The hunt for the animal takes place principally in autumn, when the sheep take on a thick layer of fat, and their skin is covered with new and strong wool. The fur of the mountain-sheep is considered warmer than that of the reindeer. Occasionally the animal is killed in other seasons also. Among the Maritime Koryak of northern Kamchatka there are special hunters who go out into the mountains in autumn and in the beginning of winter to hunt sheep. Some of the Taigonos Reindeer Koryak hunt it succesfully in winter. During my stay on the Topolovka River, in the latter part of April, 1901, two Koryak of the camp in which I lived killed four mountain-sheep. In Kamenskoye I saw a Maritime Koryak from the village Ma'meč who had killed twenty sheep during the winter of 1900–01. The skin of the sheep, like that of the wild reindeer, is not exported. In olden times the sheep was hunted with the bow, but now
237] it is pursued almost exclusively with the gun. Besides its meat and skin, the sheep yields splendid horns (from half to three-quarters of a metre long, following the curvature), which are used for the manufacture of various articles, like spoons, ladles, and cups, and also for carvings.

Hunting of Fur-Bearing Animals. — I will begin my description with the hunt of the bear, for, like the wild reindeer and the sheep, not only its skin is used, but its meat is eaten as well, especially in autumn, when the bear is fat. The brown bear (*Ursus beringianus* Middendorf; Koryak, koi'ñın) is abundant in Kamchatka, where the rivers are rich in fish. In the
439] Koryak territory bears are also quite numerous. In 1899, 380 bear-skins were exported to Vladivostok from Gishiga and Alutorsk.[1] In summer, bears are killed when they come down from the mountains to the river-valleys and the seacoast to hunt fish; in autumn, when feeding on berries or when visiting the storehouses of the Koryak to steal the fish stored there for winter use; and in winter they are killed in their lairs. In the spring, when the bear leaves its lair, it is killed only in self-defence. The bear is then lean, and its skin useless; but an encounter with it at this season is not safe for man. In summer and autumn the bear rarely attacks man, usually taking flight on meeting him. It is said that in autumn, when a bear happens to surprise women while picking berries, it merely takes the berries away from
224 them, letting them go unharmed. In summer and autumn the Koryak kill bears mainly with the gun; in olden days they used the bow for this purpose. Not infrequently they attack the bear with the spear. In both cases,

[1] See Chapter XIII, Trade.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

hunting-dogs are used, which attack the bear from the rear, make it turn around for self-defence, and prevent it from rushing at the hunter, who is thus enabled to take good aim or to choose an opportune moment for his attack. There are hunters among the Maritime Koryak who train dogs especially for hunting. These are not used in harness. Many of the dogs used for hauling sledges are not only of no help in bear-hunting, but are even a hindrance, owing to their cowardice, since they will hide behind their master. In winter the bear is attacked in its den in the manner common throughout Siberia. The opening of the den is blocked with logs, so that the animal, when awakened, cannot get out. The roof of the den is broken through, and the bear is stabbed to death with a spear or killed with a gun. Snares made of stout thongs are placed near the storehouses. I did not hear of other bear-traps, such as are employed in other parts of Siberia. I have described before the festival in honor of the bear.[1]

Foxes, particularly red foxes, are caught in great numbers, and their skins constitute the greatest part of the furs exported.[2] Fox-hunting is carried on in various ways, — with dogs, which the hunter sets on the track; by the Reindeer Koryak with reindeer-sledges. It is overtaken, and killed with clubs. Still another method is to drive the fox into its own den or into a hole, from which it is either pulled out by means of a cleft stick, or smoked out. Traps are also employed. These are the self-acting bow, the dead-fall, and the edge-trap with a spring of twisted sinew.[3] Shooting foxes with guns is seldom successful. Quite recently foxes have been poisoned by means of strychnine pills, which are scattered about. This method is in use near Russian settlements.

Krasheninnikoff asserts that all traps of the Kamchadal were introduced by the Russians. He states that previous to the arrival of the Russians the Kamchadal did not care for fox-skins, but preferred dog-skins, and that when they wanted to kill foxes, they did so by means of clubs. Foxes were so common that they would come to the troughs when the dogs were fed.[4] I believe that the same conditions prevailed among the Koryak. Even at present they set fewer traps by far than the Yukaghir and the Russianized tribes of Siberia. The Eskimo and Indians, too, employ various traps for the capture of animals;[5] but the traps with sinew spring,[6] found in Alaska, are probably of Siberian origin. The Koryak have evidently adopted the self-acting bow either from the Russians or from the Yakut and Tungus, who use it widely.

In the fur trade the red foxes of the Koryak territory, on account of their gorgeous and soft fur and its fiery-red color, are considered among the

[1] See Part I, p. 38. [2] See Chapter XIII, Trade.

[3] See Jochelson, Sketch of the Hunting-Pursuits, etc., Figs. 1, 2, 5, 7, 9, pp. 6, 7, 11, 15, 18; Bogoras, The Chukchee. Vol. VII of this series, Figs. 48–50, pp. 138–140.

[4] See Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 340. [5] See Mason, Traps of the American Indians.

[6] Ibid., Fig. 5, p. 472; Nelson, Fig. 37, p. 122.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

224 very best. They are equal in value to those of Kamchatka and the Anadyr. Since the arrival of the Russians in this region, the number of foxes has considerably fallen off, and they are now nearly extinct. In the neighborhood of the Russian villages they are now nearly extinct. Their number varies considerably from year to year. Their migration northward or southward depends on the presence of mice or hares, which foxes follow.

The Arctic fox *(Vulpes lagopus)* occurs in much smaller numbers than the red fox. It is a tundra animal *par excellence*, and is found more often in the treeless eastern part of the Koryak country than in the western district. Blue foxes are very rare: their number constitutes about one per cent of that of the white foxes. The methods of hunting the polar fox are identical with those used for the red fox.

The squirrel *(Sciurus vulgaris)* is hardly hunted at all. It is found in small numbers on the upper course of the Gishiga and Penshina and of their tributaries, but is absent in the treeless and maritime region. In Kamchatka the squirrel does not occur at all, even in the wooded localities of the central ridge. A small number of squirrels are obtained in the Gishiga district by the Tungus, but by far the greater part of squirrel-skins which are exported by way of Gishiga is obtained from nomadic Tungus in the Kolyma district and partly in the Okhotsk district. In former times the Tungus killed squirrels by means of the bow. They used blunt arrows made of bone, so as not to spoil the skin. The hunters would aim at the head of the animal when it was sitting in a tree. The blunt arrow would only daze it, and it would fall to the ground, where it was picked up by the hunter. If still capable of running, the squirrel was caught by the hunting-dog. Nowadays the place of the bow has been taken by the flint-lock gun with thin bore for bullets of the size of a pea, which do not injure the skin.

439] The sable (*Mustela zibellina*, Linn.), the most valuable fur-animal of Siberia, was undoubtedly at one time more widespread than it is now. At present only a few dozen sable-skins are exported annually from Gishiga. These are caught in the river-valleys of Penshina and Opuka, and partly in northern Kamchatka. In southern Kamchatka the Kamchadal even now kill nearly two thousand sables annually. The highest value is placed on those from the valleys of the Olekma and the Vitim, tributaries of the Lena, and from Nerchinsk in Transbaikalia. They possess a down which is entirely dark and of bluish tinge, and long, soft, glossy black hair. The finest sables have silver-tipped hair. The sable of Kamchatka is not inferior to that of Olekma in thickness of down and softness of hair; but, since it has a russet color, the fur is of inferior quality, resembling marter-fur. The Koryak sable is somewhat darker than that of Kamchatka. The sable is hunted with the gun, in the same way as the squirrel. It is a good climber, and in time of danger takes to treetops for safety. The flintlock gun used for hunting

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

sables is of larger caliber than the one used for squirrels. Oftentimes the Kamchadal shoot sables with shot. If the animal runs into a hole, the hunter sets a nettle-thread net near the entrance, and drives it out either with the help of a dog, which digs the hole open, or by means of smoke. In our Koryak collection there is a sable-trap with sinew spring from the Opuka River. It is one-third the size of similar traps used for catching wolves. In Kamchatka a dead-fall is set for sables. Sable-hunting is a most difficult pursuit, because the animal is very quick and cleverly escapes its pursuers. It vanishes in the snow, and makes passages under it; it conceals itself under stones, dry boughs, and roots of trees, and leaps from tree to tree, making it difficult to take good aim at it.

The gray wolf (*Canis lupus* Linn.) inhabits the tundra. It is hunted mainly by the Reindeer Koryak, who have to protect their herds against its ravages. Besides, wolf's fur is considered handsome, and is used for manufacturing caps, mittens, collars, and trimmings of clothing and foot-wear. Part of the wolf-skins are exported. In 1899 one hundred and twenty were taken out of the Gishiga district. The Koryak hunt [illegible]ives in the same manner as do the Chukchee.[1]

Only a few skins of ermine (*Putorius ermineus* Linn.) are exported, and it seems probable that the Koryak do not hunt it much. It would also seem that this animal is not common in the Koryak territory.[2] Ermine is hunted by the Russians and by the Maritime Koryak, who set near their store-houses traps based on the principle of the self-acting bow, in which the animals are strangled.[3] The Koryak have undoubtedly borrowed this device from the Russians. In Siberia it is specially favored by the Yakut, who employ it for all small animals, and I think it is a Yakut invention.

The otter *(Lutra vulgaris)* and wolverene *(Gulo borealis)* are rarely met with, and are therefore merely casually hunted. Formerly the skins of both of these animals were used for trimming festive garments. That of the wolverene served for adorning the finest clothes among the Koryak as well as among the Kamchadal and Chukchee. Even now wolverene-skins obtained by local hunters are not exported from the extreme northeast of Siberia, but they are imported by merchants as one of the most attractive articles of barter. At present the Chukchee are the principal consumers of wolverene-skins, and the wolverenes killed by the Kamchadal are also exported by merchants to the Chukchee.

Bird-Hunting. — Birds of passage, like ducks, geese, and swans, were formerly shot with bow and arrows, but are now shot with rifles. However,

[1] Compare Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, pp. 137, 139. On the wolf festival see Part I, p. 89.

[2] In 1899, 124 skins were exported *via* Gishiga, while from the Kolyma district 6000 ermine-skins were exported *via* Yakutsk.

[3] See Jochelson, Sketch of the Hunting, etc., Fig. 8, *a*, *b*, p. 17; Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 52, p. 143.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

practice of the principle of representation, and develops to some extent the authority of representative persons. In Itkana, for instance, the elder, besides paying the yasak of the "clan," makes purchases of flour, powder, and other articles in the official stores, and divides them among the families, whose faith in his impartiality is implicit.

I settled with individual drivers for the transportation of freight or of myself and my associates; but whenever a greater number of sledges was required, I always resorted to the elder of the settlement, who directed me to the men willing to be hired. The details were arranged with the men individually. Once when I had hired skin boats in Penshina Bay, I handed over to the elder the entire pay, consisting of bricks of tea, and he divided them among the owners of the boats and the oarsmen. On one occasion I saw an elder in the Paren settlement take by force the dogs of an old man for the transportation of Cossacks. This quarrelsome old man was dissatisfied with his share of the pay for the transportation of mail allotted to him by the elder, and refused to furnish dogs, as required by the free transportation obligation; whereupon the elder untied by force two dogs of his pack, and harnessed them to one of the sledges. Of course, he could not have done this if the other members of the settlement had not been on his side. On various occasions the elders complained to me of the disobedience of the people. The elder of the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula, whose personality and riches in reindeer had made him very influential, expressed to me his wish that the Czar might allow lazy herdsmen to be punished. He claimed that young men nowadays were worth nothing. This shows that the elder himself saw the source of his power in the Russian Government, and not in the customs of his people. Russian laws regarding the natives of Siberia, by the way, do authorize the elders to inflict punishment for trivial offences. Of course, the elder did not know this, and, had he known it, could not have acted according to this law, it being opposed to the usages of the Koryak.

In reference to food, Russian influence shows itself in favor of individualistic tendencies as against the tendencies of primitive communism in this matter.

In ancient traditions the ideal hunter is represented as follows. He heaps the results of the chase on the shore, and bids the inhabitants of the settlement divide them among themselves, and he takes for himself only what is left. He sits at a distance and watches how his catch is divided.[1] At the present time this principle is followed to a certain extent in hunting the whale, and even the white whale.[2] When their meat is divided, the entire settlement is invited. In regard to the white whale, however, this custom is not everywhere observed. I think that in reference to the products of hunting and fishing, indications of the principle of work could from the earliest times be

[1] See, for instance, Part I, Tale 94, p. 275.

[2] See Part I, p. 56.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

224 found side by side with the communistic principle, but that at the present time the principle of work has become predominant. As I have said before,[1] not all among the Maritime Koryak are owners of skin boats. For the hunting of sea-animals in boats, many men are required, and the owners of boats are eager to accept the services of those who do not own any. The relations of these helpers to the owner of the boat are not those of hirelings and master, but of associates with equal rights. The catch is divided into equal parts. In order to obtain more men for his boat, the owner at times takes for himself less than his just share. The participants in his chase, on their part, contribute their own harpoons, and supply the owner with thongs and skins for repairing the boat. When fish and seals are caught with nets, the owners of the latter form groups of several families at each 476 net, among whom the haul of the net is equitably divided. Some individuals 437 prefer to hunt and fish by themselves. Needed assistance is offered mostly [465] to relatives through blood or marriage. Workmen hired for a certain yearly compensation can be found only in the Russianized settlements. Men serving for their brides occupy the position of free workmen; if, however, they have to support aged parents, a share in the products of hunting and fishing is accorded to them. During the exchanges with tradesmen it becomes evident that the hunter's right or ownership is more sharply defined in reference to products of fur-hunting than in reference to objects of consumption. At home the hunter deals with the skins of the fur-animals he has killed more independently than does the fisherman with the fish he has caught, exchanging them frequently for articles he personally needs.

463 The position of herdsmen among reindeer-owners is now essentially the same as before;[2] but, if a herdsman lives with his family in a separate tent, the number of reindeer he will receive during the year to kill is often agreed upon in advance.

177 Russian influence has further manifested itself in the tendency of large families to split up into smaller ones. The Koryak assert that in ancient 592 times the houses were more spacious, and that all relatives, to the number 596 of forty or more individuals, lived together in one dwelling. In houses of the Maritime Koryak I have never seen more than fifteen individuals. Among the Reindeer Koryak I found twenty-five individuals in one tent, thirteen of whom, however, were herdsmen and their families. Besides, the sisters and daughters of the master had married into other families, which is of common occurrence, although in ancient times families related by marriage not infrequently lived together. In this case, however, the elder brother, with his family and herds, had also separated from the group, which in ancient times happened very seldom. But nowadays I have frequently met cousins or brothers

[1] See p. 338.

[2] See p. 766.

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

with large nets sewn together from the smaller ones they owned individually. 226 [476]

Other methods of fishing included fishing with the aid of an iron hook (marik) and "dipper" nets. The fisherman stood up to his knees in water, holding in his hands an implement that looked like a large sack-net on a long pole. Sighting a fish, he quickly directed the net towards it, scooping it up and throwing it out on the gravel shore. This method was used in the beginning of the fish-run, before the cooperative set to work.

Most of the catch went into the making of yukola. The fish were disemboweled and hung to dry on special racks. The yukola (fish dried in the sun and the wind) was put away in storehouses—tents on high piles, covered with dry grass. Yukola was usually made by women, while fishing was done chiefly by men. The yukola was the principal food of the people all year; it was also used as feed for the dogs, in addition to "pickled fish"—freshly caught fish piled into a pit, covered with earth, and left to ferment until needed. 262 251 [462]

An important auxiliary occupation among both sedentary and nomad Koryaks was hunting, which was done solely by men. The fur animals hunted were fox, wolverine, otter, hare and ermine. 224 184 [462]

Fur-animal hunting was most important among the Palantsy, who lived in a region abounding in Kamchatka sable. These were trapped in nets. Other animals were hunted with guns. Foxes and smaller animals—yevrazhka hamster and ermine—were caught in springtraps. The latter two were usually hunted by adolescent boys. Hares and partridges were caught with a noose. In early spring, many hunters took meat animals—bears, Siberian marmot, wild reindeer and mountain sheep. Tundra animals were usually hunted without the aid of hunting dogs, which were owned by relatively few hunters. [883]

An important role in Koryak economy was taken by the gathering of wild plants. The gathering of edible roots, grasses and berries was women's work. Roots were obtained chiefly from mouse-nests. Searching out a mouse-nest, the woman dug it up with a special wooden hoe and took from it the store of edible roots prepared by the mice. The berries gathered were blueberry, cloudberry and crowberry. 222 [462]

Grass was used to make inner lining for boots, and was also woven into mats, baskets, bags and purses. The weaving of variously shaped baskets, from those in the shape of bowls and trays down to small oval boxes with lids, and also bags of various shapes and sizes was especially developed among the Karagin and Alyutor women. 285 184

The men widely engaged in carving bone and the horns of wild sheep. 321

One of the villages of the northern coastal Koryaks—the village of Paren' on Taygonos Peninsula, was long known for blacksmithery. The Paren' blacksmiths reforged accidentally gotten pieces of iron into knives famed throughout the Koryak territory and beyond it. Even in the early years of the current century, the local Koryak population preferred them to imported Russian and American knives. 326

Housing

The dwelling of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks (yaranga) was a tent, similar to the Chukchi yaranga (called yayan'a in the Chavchuven dialect, and raran'a in the Alyutor dialect). Cylindrical at the base and conical at the top, it had a framework of poles and was covered with reindeer skins, with the fur outside. The pelts to be used for covering the yaranga were scraped a little; some of the flesh side was peeled off, then it was kneaded and smoked to make it waterproof. For summer dwellings, the hair was removed, or else worn, old coverings were used. 342 281

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--296 [3] N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak

116, 224.

"In the balagans[on Karaginski Island--Analyst] were kept many treasures, and we entered one and proceeded to investigate its contents. Among these we found the skins of reindeer, bear, and red fox, and we were informed that white foxes are also caught. The foxes are secured in an original kind of trap of a make very similar to that figured by Guillemard in 'The Cruise of the Marchesa' (1st edit., vol. i. p. 162), which he noticed on the Kamchatka river at Uskovska. It is said that bears are also caught in traps of the same description, though of a larger size. We saw no skins of the fur seal."

22: Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--297-298 N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak
116. 224. 411

"Spears they [the natives on Karaginski Island--Analyst] also possessed, whose steel points were carefully protected, when not in use, with caps made of skin. Perhaps the quaintest of all their possessions were two strange-looking shooting instruments (we use the word advisedly), [298] consisting of an old iron barrel roughly fitted into a wooden stock, and fired by means of a flint. These had a prop attached to the forepart of the stock, on which to rest the instrument when being fired. In connection with these strange weapons were kept a varied assortment of bullets-bags and powder-horns--the latter made of the horns of the Kamchatkan big-horn (Ovis nivicola), as well as sight-protectors very carefully made of bone, and skin covers for the gun-locks. A hair seal was shot with one of these guns during our stay, and we obtained the carcase. When hunting, the natives seem to go armed with both spear and gun, as at least two of them, whom we saw returning to the village, carried both weapons."